

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAM-01

ACDA-07 SAJ-01 OMB-01 EB-07 COME-00 TRSE-00 XMB-02

/078 W

----- 104561

P R 101434Z JUL 76

FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6347

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY OSLO

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GERMANY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MADRID 5343

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, SP

SUBJECT: CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC LEADER'S EVALUATION OF CURRENT SITUATIO
N

REF: MADRID 5299

SUMMARY: CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC LEADER ALVAREZ DE MIRANDA,
WHO DECLINED POST IN NEW GOVERNMENT, HAS TOLD US THAT,
IN AS MUCH AS CD ELEMENTS CONSTITUTE DOMINATE POLITICAL
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FORCE IN NEW CABINET, OTHER CD ELEMENTS, LIBERALS, AND

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS WILL, WITHIN REASON, SEEK TO HELP IT SUCCEED. GOVT MUST RECONSTITUTE CREDIBILITY WITH OPPOSITION COMPROMISED BY AREILZA'S DEPARTURE AND SOMEHOW PROMOTE CONDITIONS FOR REGROUPING OF POLITICAL FORCES IN THE CENTER WHICH HAVE BEEN SPLIT FURTHER IN CORSE OF LATEST CRISIS. NEW GOS MAY, OUT OF POLITICAL NECESSITY, PUT POLITICAL REFORM AHEAD OF ECONOMIC MEASURES. GOVT CRISIS HAS BROUGHT KING INTO POLITICAL ARENA SO THAT SUCCESS OF PRESENT GOVT WILL BE MORE SERIOUS TEST OF MONARCHY'S FUTURE THAN THE PREVIOUS GOVT. END SUMMARY.

1. ALVAREZ DE MIRANDA, LEADER OF THE CENTER-LEFT CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC "PARTIDO POPULAR" (PP), PROVIDED THE AMBASSADOR AND EMBOFFS WITH THE FOLLOWING EVALUATION OF THE NEW POLITICAL SCENE.

2. IMPLICATIONS OF AREILZA'S ABSENCE. ALVAREZ DE MIRANDA SAID JULCRUM OF CRISIS WAS ROLE OF AREILZA. AREILZA IS THE POLITICAL FIGURE WHO HAS THE MOST CREDIBILITY WITH THE DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION IN SPAIN AND DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES ABROAD. THE NEW GOVT AS YET HAS NO SYMBOLIC SUBSTITUTE FOR HIM. THERE IS RENEWED TALK, HOWEVER, ABOUT THE APPOINTMENT OF A NON-GOVERNMENTAL CONSITUTIONAL REFORM COMMITTEE, TO INCLUDE DISTINGUISHED PROFESSORS OF CONSTITUTIONAL LAW, INCLUDING SUCH PEOPLE AS RUIZ GIMENEZ AND TIerno GALVAN, WHICH WOULD PROFFER ADVICE AND PROVIDE A REGULAR CHANNEL OF COMMUNICATION WITH THE OPPOSITION AND PAVE THE WAY FOR THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE PLANNED REFERENDUM. AT ALL EVENTS, THIS GOS IS BETTER PLACED TO CONSULT WITH THE OPPOSITION. ALVAREZ DE MIRANDA SAID THAT IN A MEETING WHICH HE HAD WITH THE KING A MONTH AGO, JUAN CARLOS MENTIONED SUAREZ'S NAME SEVERAL TIMES AS PRESIDENTIAL TIMBER, BUT WHEN DISCUSSING AREILZA, HE ALLUDED TO THE ARMY'S RESERVATIONS AND HIS OWN RESERVATIONS ABOUT AREILZA'S POPULAR APPEAL BECAUSE OF HIS TITLE AND THE WEALTH AREILZA OBTAINED UNDER FRANCO'S REGIME. AREILZA'S REFUSAL TO JOIN A CABINET LED BY SUAREZ, HE SAID, STEMS PRIMARILY FROM THE ABSENCE OF ANY CONTACT BETWEEN THE ROYAL PALACE AND

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AREILZA THROUGHOUT THE CIRISIS: HIS RESENTMENT WAS COMPOUNDED BY A REPORT BY THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT PRESS AGENCY (PYRESA) WHICH LED HIM TO BELIEVE HE KING'S CHOICE. A REPORT AREILZA FEELS WAS DELIBERATELY LEAKED TO MISLEAD HIM.

3. FACTIONALIZATION AMONG CENTER POLITICAL GROUPS. THE MANNER IN WHICH THE NEW GOVT WAS PUT TOGETHER HAS INCREASED FURTHER THE FACTIONALISM WITHIN THE VARIOUS

CD GROUPS: TACITO, THE UNION DEMOCRATICO ESPANOL (UDE)
AND THE PARTIDO POPULAR. OSORIO, WHOM ALVAREZ DE
MIRANDA BELIEVES MASTERMINDED THE FORMATION OF THE
CABINET, WAS UNWILLING TO DEAL WITH THE CD GROUPS AS
SUCH BUT ONLY WITH INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS. FOR THIS
REASON, ALVAREZ DE MIRANDA HIMSELF DECLINED THE
PORTFOLIO OF EDUCATION MINISTER BELIEVING THAT THE TIME
HAD COME FOR A SPANISH GOVT TO BE FORMED AFTER PROGRAMMATIC
CONSULTATION WITH POLITICAL GROUPS RATHER THAN WITH
PROMINENT INDIVIDUALS.
SUAREZ AND OSORIO APPROACHED THE PARTIDO POPULAR,
GARCIA LOPEZ'S SOCIAL DEMOCRATS (PSDE), AND THE LIBERAL
PARTY OF JOAQUIN GARRIGUES WALKER (ARELIZA'S SON-IN-LAW).
IN THE EVENT NONE ACCEPTED THOUGH OREJA AND LAVILLA
ON THEIR OWN ACCEPTED THE PORTFOLIOS OF FOREIGN AND
JUSTICE MINISTERS LEADING TO SOME RESENTMENT WITHIN THE
POPULAR PARTY. THE DEEPEST SPLIT TOOK PLACE IN SILVA
MUNOZ'S CONSERVATIVE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC UDE. SILVA HIMSELF
IS EXTREMELY ANGERED FOR HAVING RECEIVED THE MOST VOTES IN
THE PANEL SUBMITTED BY THE COUNCIL OF THE REALM TO THE KING
AND THEN NOT BEING CONSULTED IN THE FORMATION OF THE GOVT.
IN EFFECT, OSORIO CONDUCTED A COUP D'ETAT WITHIN THE
UDE, BYPASSING SILVA COMPLETELY.

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4. NEW GOVT'S NEED FOR SUPPORT BY POLITICAL GROUPS IN THE CENTER. ALVAREZ DE MIRANDA BELIEVES THAT THE POLITICAL GROUPS IN THE CENTER AND CENTER LEFT HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO BACK THE REFORM EFFORTS OF THE NEW GOVT. ALVAREZ DE MIRANDA SAID THAT HE WOULD ALSO USE HIS CONNECTIONS WITH THE SOCIALISTS (PSOE) TO ENCOURAGE THEM TO ADOPT AS FLEXIBLE A LINE AS POSSIBLE TOWARDS THE NEW GOVT TACITO'S EDITORIAL IN THE JULY 9 "YA" NEWSPAPER REFLECTING PARTIDO POPULAR VIEW THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT IS ON TRIAL BUT MERITS SUPPORT IF IT
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MOVES FORWARD ON REFORMS. THE AMBASSADOR TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY TO SAY THAT, AS ALVAREZ DE MIRANDA KNEW, WE SUPPORTED THE KING AND THE PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIZATION AND SHARED HIS VIEW THAT THE NEW GOVT MERITED SUPPORT IN ITS EFFORTS. ALVAREZ DE MIRANDA RESPONDED NOTING THAT HE WANTED THE SUAREZ GOVERNMENT TO DO THE JOB, BECAUSE IF IT FAILED FUTURE OPTIONS, SUCH AS A "MILITARY DIRECTORATE" MIGHT BE UNPLEASANT. HE NOTED THAT CORTES PRESIDENT FERNANDEZ MIRANDA, BY SAYING TO THE PRESS THAT THE PANEL OF THREE NAMES GAVE THE KING WHAT HE WANTED, HAD ILL ADVISEDLY INCREASED THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE KING'S PRESTIGE IN THE FUTURE OF THE SUAREZ GOVERNMENT.

5. REFORMS, THE ECONOMY, AND THE TIME TABLE. THE MAKEUP OF THE NEW GOVT AND THE PREDOMINANT ROLE OF OSORIO MEANS THAT POLITICAL REFORM WILL PROBABLE TAKE PREDECENCE OVER EFFORTS TO COPE WITH INFLATION AND TO REVITALIZE THE ECONOMY. THIS IS WORRISOME, BUT AT THE SAME TIME UNTIL THERE IS POPULAR LEGITIMACY IT IS DIFFICULT FOR ANY GOVERNMENT TO TAKE UNPOPULAR ECONOMY MEASURES. PERHAPS THERE WILL BE AN EFFORT TO SPED UP THE TIME TABLE, A REFERENDUM IN SEPTEMBER AND ELECTIONS AT YEAR END, WHILE ELIMINATING SOME OF THE UNDESIRABLE FEATURES (FRANCO'S 40 IN THE SENATE) FROM THE CURRENT PROPOSALS FOR A NEW PARLIA-

MENTARY. THE MAIN PROBLEM, GIVEN ALL THE
CONFUSION, IS TO ASSURE THAT THE REFERENDUM COMES OFF PROPERLY.
DIALOGUE WITH THE OPPOSITON AND A CHANGE IN THE SHAPE OF THE
REFERENDUM SEEM NECESSARY. HE THOUGHT THE GOS WOULD
ATTEMPT A HYBRID REFERENDUM, MARRYING THE
CURRENT DETAILED MEASURE WITH THE IDEA OF A "PROSPECTIVE"
REFERENDUM ASKING FOR A POPULAR MANDATE TO COVERT
SPAIN INTO A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM. HE WOULD PREFER A PRO-
SPECTIVE REFERENDUM AND SUBSEQUENT DECREE
LAWS TO SET UP PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN
ORDER TO ELIMINATE THE NEED TO PANDER TO THE
"BUNKER" IN THE CORTES. BEYOND THAT, IT WAS
NECESSARY TO ORGANIZE THE CENTER FOR PARLIAMENTARY
ELECTIONS LEST EXTREMES OF RIGHT AND LEFT GAIN
THE ADVANTAGE OVER A FRAGMENTED CENTER.

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6. WE HAVE REPORTED ALVAREZ DE MIRANDA'S VIEWS
AT LENGTH BECUAUSE THEY PROVIDE A USEFUL PERSPECTIVE
BY A WIDELY RESPECTED POLITICIAN WITH A POLITICAL FUTURE.
HE WAS QUITE FRANK, AND GAVE US HIS VIEWS IN CONFIDENCE AND
IN THE EXPECTATION THAT THEY WOULD REMAIN CONFIDENTIAL.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PERSONAL OPINION, PARTY LEADERS, POLITICAL SITUATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 10 JUL 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ShawDG
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976MADRID05343
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760267-0712
From: MADRID
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760771/aaaackfk.tel
Line Count: 251
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 76 MADRID 5299
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ShawDG
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 31 MAR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <31 MAR 2004 by greeneet>; APPROVED <13 AUG 2004 by ShawDG>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC LEADER'S EVALUATION OF CURRENT SITUATIO N
TAGS: PINT, PFOR, SP, (DE MIRANDA, ALVAREZ)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006